3. Trade

431 Planters command few sources of income; beside their tool equip-
556 ment a thousand new needs have arisen, which trade must satisfy.
437 There is, oddly, no commercial tradition at all among the Pahouin. For bride-price payments previous generations used ivory tusks or pieces of wrought iron in the shape of arrows. But was this a form of money? Nothing was bought, nothing sold. And yet, according to Balandier, the pursuit of wealth represented the men's principal activity (2) aside from routine work, perhaps, moreover, because

> 2. Cf. Largeau (no. 48) for the mythical role of the spider in producing merchandise "among the dead." (P. A.)

there was no trade or exchange. From the accounts, it appears that previous generations could only obtain goods from distant countries by bilaba and not by purchase. The bilaba approximates the potlatch in being a contest. During a visit a host gives his guest all kinds of presents, defying him to do the like. Later the guest will have to offer even more than he received. Thus, exchange and a struggle for prestige are involved at the same time (3). Bilaba apparently were

> 3. J. Guilbot, Journal de la Société des Africanistes, 1951, Vol. 21; G. Balandier, Sociologie actuelle de l'Afrique noire /Contemporary Native African Sociology/, P.U.F. /Presses Universitaires de France/, 1955, p. 182.

means of distributing objects of European origin (salt, weapons, clothes) and of exchanging them for ivory collected in the interior, game, or the dogs that some tribes /34/ eat. In general, it is to such exchanges as these that the old accounts refer. But one can scarcely speak of trade for such ritualized gifts and countergifts. And nothing else warrants the assumption of an economy based on exchange. Between
443 Yaoundé and Brazzaville there are no markets, or, more correctly,
177 the markets that now exist were started by Europeans or at their instigation (1).

6:Alexandre and Binet--42 G-5 (1946-1954) 1958 FH9 Fang FH9

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1. This lack is also pointed out by Balandier, op. cit., p. 544.

A careful study of village names in several subdivisions has not turned up a name that seems connected with ideas of market, exchange, or trade. Moreover, vocabularies for such subjects are very limited.

And, into this land so unprepared for an economic /sic/ life, world economy is penetrating with all its complexity, setting a purchase price for the total output, which has fluctuations the planters obviously cannot understand. Their dismay is natural, since they have not even been able to become familiar with ideas about price, demand, or bargaining through traditions of trade.

It goes without saying that the time when salt was the item most in demand is long since past. However, bags of salt appear among traditional wedding presents, and the manufacture of salt from lye-washed palm ash is still known, though the product is only sold—and moreover very rarely—for its medicinal properties.

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Expenditures have become extremely diversified, as shown by the analysis of an average family budget: (2)

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2. These figures drawn from Budgets familiaux au Cameroun /Family Budgets in the Cameroons/, p. 150, do not take into account, we must remember, auto consumption.

Food	14 percent	Household articles	1.9 percent
Textiles	17.4 -	Equipment	7.7 -
Bride price	13 -	Taxes	8.5 -
Housing and furniture	7.5 -	Medicaments	1.3 -
Bedding	1.5 -	Education	0.9 -
Lighting and upkeep	3 -	Gifts and miscellaneous	6 -
Trips	2 -		

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Food now includes, even in the bush, imported items like stockfish or like the bread, sardines, sugar, and condensed milk that are used less regularly. Clothes are the main item of expense. The desire to follow Paris fashions is perhaps not a national trait peculiar

to Pahouin women, but it is certainly a geographical characteristic of the southern Cameroons, consequently, the textiles for sale are to a great extent those sold in Europe. Specifically African prints, such as "wax-prints," are dying out. Underclothes, stockings, and shoes reflect the sophistication that goes with wealth. The purchase of durable goods that go under the heading "Equipment," (bicycles, phonographs, pressure lamps) is another symptom, as is the changing demand for household articles. /35/ While the saucepan is still the basic kitchen utensil, enamelware is in strong competition with crockery and glass. Blankets are used everywhere, but the use of sheets is also on the increase.

A mere list of commodities shows the present-day importance of trade. The native populations have not always realized this, owing to their lack of inclination for it. They have not started businesses and have often left this to immigrants, coastal people long familiar with European ways, particularly the Bamiléké or "Haoussa," /Hausa/ who for their part have a solid trading tradition and great capacities in this field. The Boulou especially despise trade and refuse to have anything to do with it. Other Pahouin peoples are not so strongly antipathetic, but their business activity remains very limited.

Is it this bankruptcy on the part of the indigenous people and this taking over by "foreigners" which explains the organization and the location of trade in the region? The villages are in fact very badly served; markets are few and far between and so are rural shops. Perhaps we ought to note differences between the various Pahouin and Pahouinized groups. While a village trader is always most uncommon in Boulou country in spite of the relative affluence of the planters, he is not unknown in Ewondo districts and is quite often to be met with among the Eton, where resources are, nevertheless, more limited. Without local trade the collecting of crops and specifically of cacao posed quite a problem, to which the coming of buyers brought a solution. Business houses advance money to the buyers and buy what they are able to bring back. From hut to hut along the trails buyers negotiate purchases with planters. With these "purchases by peddling" it might seem logical for sales by peddling to develop. Yet this phenomenon is quite recent, being tied up with the development of transportation by car and bicycle. But while the buyers are generally native to the region, the pedlars are nearly always foreign.

As house-to-house buying creates countless disadvantages, the administration has endeavored to create rural markets so that the public

nature of the transactions and competition would correct them. These markets represent an attempt at introducing trade into the rural milieu, and they are not restricted to the purchase of cacao and palm trees; some African traders try to sell textiles, hardware, and food products. But the markets are still too new for the custom to have become firmly established, for them to have an existence of their own. It may be that here too we should except certain Eton cantons, where there seem to be some genuinely native rural markets.

Although of European origin, the markets held each day in the main towns of the subdivisions have become entirely a part of the way of life. Originally they were set up to provide food supplies for the settlements that grew up around administrative posts /36/ or missions. Then, professional traders came to offer imported merchandise to villagers come to sell their garden produce. Nowadays these markets are routine affairs, drawing their clientèle from a radius of 20 kilometers. Their importance depends upon that of the particular subdivision. As an illustration, we may use the following figures from a study of the market at Sangmélima: 200 women come to sell vegetables, maize, or fruit grown in their gardens. Some women dealers in palm oil, after having bought it liter by liter in the bush, come here with from 10 to 20 liters to sell. Young boys sell cigarettes, pieces of sugar, sandwiches, or cups of coffee, while women bring fritters. Side by side with these petty tradesmen others transact business on a larger scale: about 20 sell dried, smoked fish prepared on the coast or stockfish (dried and salted) imported from Europe, while in their stalls 20 "market boys" /sic/ offering textiles, enamelware, or hardware wait for customers.

The number of craftsmen grouped around the market, the number of cars, lorry-buses /camions amenages/, or bicycles which have brought customers show clearly that this is not an artificial institution. The market is now tending to become one of the elements of the town.

It shares this role with the shops. European and African traders do business along Western lines, both wholesale and retail at the same time. They try to keep on good business terms with the African small dealers who know very well how to go from supplier to supplier to compare merchandise, price, and terms. At the same time they sell directly to the public. Such shops are uncommon outside towns — in this connection as with markets, the villages are little touched by economic activity.